

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
OES-07 /092 W
-----057132 121255Z /41

P 121124Z OCT 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1810
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 8637

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, US, UR
SUBJECT: US-USSR CHEMICAL WEAPONS NEGOTIATIONS: ROUND
SIX, SIXTH MEETING, OCTOBER 10.

CW MESSAGE NUMBER TEN

1. SUMMARY: SIXTH MEETING OF CURRENT ROUND OF US-USSR ARMS
CONTROL WORKING GROUP ON ECHMICAL WEAPONS WAS HELD ON OCTOBER
10. US SIDE ANSWERED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WHICH SOVIET SIDE
HAD ASKED AT LAST MEETING ON SCOPE, PRECURSORS, USE OF TERMS
"SINGLE PURPOSE" AND "DUAL"PURPOSE", IRRITANTS, AND DECLARATIONS.
ESTABLISHMENT OF DRAFTING GROUP WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL AND IT
WAS AGREED TO HOLD FIRST MEETING OF DRAFTING GROUP FOLLOWING
NEXT PLENARY ON OCTOBER 12. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR FISHER (HEAD OF USDEL) NOTED THAT THE SOVIET
SIDE POSED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS AT THE LAST MEETING.
WITH RESPECT TO THE US POSITION ON THE LIST OF CATEGORIES OF
AGENTS AND SUBSTANCES WHICH THE SOVIET SIDE HAD PROPOSED TO
PROHIBIT, HE SAID THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES COINCIDE TO
A LARGE DEGREE, BUT THERE ARE TWO ISSUES REMAINING TO BE
RESOLVED -- SCOPE OF "HARMFUL AGENTS" AND THE QUESTION OF PRE-
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CURSORS. TURNING TO THE QUESTIONS OF LIMITING PRECURSORS AND
DETERMINING WHAT PRECURSORS ARE SIGNIFICANT, HE RECALLED HIS
STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 28, DEALING WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
THE SCOPE OF THE PROHIBITON AND PROCEDURES FOR VERIFICATION IN
WHICH HE POINTED OUT THAT "THE NET EFFECT OF THE TREATY MUST BE
TO INCREASE, RATHER THAN DIMINISH, THE SECURITY OF THE PARTIES."
WITH RESPECT TO PRECURSORS, HE SAID CONTROLS SHOULD BE IMPOSED

ON THE MANUFACTURE AND STOCKPILING OF CHEMICALS WHICH, THROUGH RELATIVELY SIMPLE CHEMICAL PROCESSES, COULD RESULT IN THE CREATION OF PROHIBITED AGENTS. FISHER SAID THAT WHETHER OR NOT A PRECURSOR IS CONSIDERED IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO BE LISTED AND THUS SUBJECT TO DETAILED CONTROL WOULD DEPEND ON THE SPEED AND SIMPLICITY WITH WHICH THE CHEMICAL COULD BE CONVERTED INTO A CHEMICAL AGENT, THE AVAILABILITY OF OTHER USES FOR IT, AND THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN DIVERTING THIS CHEMICAL FROM A LEGITIMATE TO A PROHIBITED USE. IN THE US VIEW THE TASK OF DRAWING UP A LIST OF IMPORTANT PRECURSORS SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. HE NOTED THAT THE US HAD ALREADY MADE A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR A DEFINITION OF THE TERM "PRECURSOR."

3. US EXPERT (MIKULAK) REFERRED TO THE SOVIET QUESTION REGARDING THE US POSITION ON THE TERMS "SINGLE-PURPOSE" AND "DUAL-PURPOSE" AND SAID THAT, WHILE USEFUL IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE TWO SIDES, THE TERMS ARE NOT SUITABLE FOR USE IN A CONVENTION BECAUSE THEY COULD BE MISLEADING. HE NOTED THAT BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT EVEN SUPER-TOXIC CHEMICALS WHICH ARE PRIMARILY CHEMICAL WARFARE (CW) AGENTS MAY ALSO BE USED ON A SMALL SCALE FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEANS OF PROTECTION, AND IN SCIENTIFIC AND MEDICAL RESEARCH. IN THE USVIEW, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO RELY ON THE GENERAL PURPOSE CRITERION. UNDER THAT CRITERION, THOSE TYPES AND QUANTITIES OF CHEMICALS THAT HAVE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES WOULD BE DESTROYED. WHERE THERE IS A JUSTIFICATION, CHEMICALS COULD

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BE DIVERTED FROM PROHIBITED MILITARY PURPOSES TO PEACEFUL PURPOSES. IN THE US VIEW, JUSTIFICATION WOULD BE DETERMINED ON THE BASIS OF SUBSTANTIATED NEED FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES.

4. US EXPERT (BAY) SAID THAT THE US SIDE DOES NOT PROPOSE TO SINGLE OUT INCAPACITANTS AS AN INDIVIDUAL CATEGORY OF SUBSTANCES IN THE CONVENTION. HE NOTED THAT THE US DOES NOT BELIEVE IT DESIRABLE TO SINGLE OUT ANY SPECIFIC CATEGORY OF CHEMICALS, PREFERRING INSTEAD TO RELY ON THE GENERAL PURPOSE CRITERION TO INSURE THAT ALL POTENTIAL CHEMICAL AGENTS ARE COVERED. ON THE ONE HAND, HE NOTED THAT THE GENERAL PURPOSE CRITERION WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF PROHIBITING INCAPACITANTS AS WELL AS CARCINOGENS AND TERATOGENS FOR CW PURPOSES. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO INCLUDE RELATIVELY SAFE SUBSTANCES SUCH AS RIOT CONTROL AGENTS IN THE CONVENTION. HE NOTED THAT THE US HAD PROPOSED THE CATEGORY "OTHER HIGHLY TOXIC CHEMICALS" BE INCLUDED IN THE CONVENTION IN ORDER TO FACILITATE COMPLETE PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS. HE SAID THAT THIS TERM REFERS GENERALLY TO CHEMICALS WHOSE EFFECTS (1) ARE NOT DIRECTLY LETHAL, (2) ARE MANIFESTED AT RELATIVELY LOW DOSE LEVELS, AND (3) PERSIST FOR A SIGNIFICANT

PERIOD OF TIME AFTER EXPOSURE. HE NOTED THAT THIS TERM APPEARS TO BE SIMILAR TO THE SOVIET TERM "HARMFUL AGENTS".

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5. US EXPOERT (LEONARD) NOTED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD ASKED ABOUT THE US PROPOSAL THAT BROAD RANGES OF STOCKS BE DECLARED BEFORE THE TREATY ENTERS INTO FORCE. HE SAID THAT SUCH DECLARATIONS WOULD PROVIDED TO OTHER SIGNATORIES DIRECTLY BY EACH STATE AS AGREED. HE NOTED THAT WHAT THE US HAS PROPOSED IS THAT FIRST, EACH STATE WOULD DECLARE WHETHER OR NOT IT POSSESSES STOCKS OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, SUPER-TOXIC AGENTS, OTHER LETHAL AGENTS, OR OTHER HIGHLY TOXIC AGENTS, AND PRECURSORS STOCKED FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE PURPOSES. IN ADDITION, HE SAID THE TOTAL QUANTITY OF STOCKS SHOULD BE SPECIFIED IN BROAD RANGES FOR EACH OF THREE CATEGORIES: SUPER-TOXIC AGENTS, OTHER AGENTS, AND PRECURSORS. THE US SIDE PROPOSED SEVEN RANGES THAT MIGHT RUN FROM A, LESS THAN 100 TONS; TO G, 150,001 TONS OR GREATER.

6. WITH RESPECT TO THE FULL DATA EXCHANGE, LEONARD NOTED THAT THE US HAD PROPOSED THAT SUCH AN EXCHANGE TAKE PLACE UPON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CONVENTION. THE US SIDE ENVISIONS THAT A STANDARDIZED FORMAT FOR THIS DECLARATION WOULD BE AGREED AS PART OF THE WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE. THE FULL DECLARATION WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE DEPOSITARY FOR TRANSMITTAL TO OTHER STATES PARTIES.
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HOWEVER, IN THE US VIEW, ONCE THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED IT WOULD RECEIVE AND TRANSMIT SUCH DECLARATIONS.

7. AMBASSADOR LIKHATCHEV (HEAD OF SOVIET DEL) RECALLED THAT AT THE PREVIOUS MEETING IT HAD BEEN AGREED TO TAKE UP AT THIS MEETING THE ISSUE OF ESTABLISHING A DRAFTING GROUP. IN THE SOVIET VIEW, FOUR OR FIVE FROM EACH SIDE MIGHT TAKE PART IN THE WORK OF THE DRAFTING GROUP, AND SUBSEQUENTLY PERHAPS EVEN FEWER IF THAT PROVES ADVANTAGEOUS. PARTICIPANTS MIGHT INCLUDE DEPUTIES, EXPERTS, AND INTERPRETERS, BUT EACH SIDE WOULD DETERMINE ITS OWN PARTICIPATION. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP NOT BE "OVER FORMALIZED", AND CHARACTERIZED IT WAS THE WORKING INSTRUMENT OF THE HEADS OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS. IF THE DRAFTING GROUP FUNCTIONS EFFECTIVELY, LIKHATCHEV SAID THAT IT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE USED, OR IF A MORE REASONABLE METHOD IS FOUND, IT MIGHT ALSO BE USED.

8. LIKHATCHEV STATED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE STILL BELIEVED THAT THE JOINT INITIATIVE SHOULD BE INTRODUCED IN THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CCD) IN THE FORM OF A DRAFT CONVENTION, OR MAIN ARTICLES OF A CONVENTION. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD ALREADY PRESENTED ITS MAIN ARGUMENTS AND HAD LISTENED TO THE US POINT OF VIEW. HAVING CAREFULLY WEIGHED THE QUESTION OF FORMAT, THE SOVIET SIDE HAS COME TO THE DEFINITE CONCLUSION THAT IT IS BEST TO PRESENT THE CCD WITH A DRAFT CONVENTION, OR ITS MAIN ARTICLES. HE THOUGHT THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE CCD WOULD ULTIMATELY APPRECIATE RECEIVING THE JOINT INITIATIVE IN THIS FORM, AND WOULD STILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF WORK TO DO ON THE CONVENTION. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE HEADS OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS

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INSTRUCT EACH DEPUTY TO FORMULATE ARTICLES OF A FUTURE CONVENTION IN THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE. HE THOUGHT THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP MIGHT ALSO ASSIST IN FINDING SOLUTIONS ON QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN AGREED.

9. FISHER SAID THAT HE WAS IN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET POSITION WITH RESPECT TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE, BUT THAT THE TWO SIDES WERE SLIGHTLY APART WITH REGARD TO THE FORMAT OF THE JOINT INITIATIVE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE DRAFTING GROUP'S PRODUCT BE CALLED "COMMON LANGUAGE" OR "WORKING GROUP". HE NOTED THAT THE

DOCUMENT CONTAINING THE SOVIET BASIC PROVISIONS HAD BEEN LABELED "WORKING PAPER". HE SAID, IF THE TWO SIDES CAN DECIDE AT THE END OF THE WORK WHAT THE JOINT INITIATIVE IS TO BE CALLED WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE POSITION OF EITHER SIDE, THE US SIDE CAN AGREE TO PROCEED.

10. LIKHACHEV SAID THAT THE US KEY ELEMENTS AND THE SOVIET BASIC PROVISIONS WERE ONLY "STARTING STEPS" AND THAT THE WORK SHOULD PROCEED NOW IN GREATER DETAIL.

1. IT WAS AGREED TO CALL THE DOCUMENT TO BE PRODUCED BY THE DRAFTING GROUP A "WORKING PAPER". THE FIRST MEETING OF THE DRAFTING GROUP WAS SCHEDULED TO IMMEDIATELY FOLLOW THE CW PLENARY MEETING ON THE AFTERNOON OF OCTOBER 12. SORENSON

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